121 sedentary, but the semi-autonomous nature of the lineage segments
114
*613 is maintained to a large extent. The result of this is a de-
[178] emphasis of the "we-feeling" among the population of al-Qasr
[186] and an absence of "sense of community" (Easton 1965:332). By
[571] "community," I refer to a pattern of relatively intensive,
face-to-face social relationships, and the values of solidarity
121 and common goals to which these give rise. The relationship
*613 between lineage structure and territoriality was such that
571 kinship segments within the same lineage unit might go days,
and even weeks, with no inter-communication, and the degree
of communication between separate lineage units of the tribe
was less intensive than this. Such a communication pattern
made observation difficult. The fact that Bedouin tribal
society relatively lacks the group ceremonial aspect compounded
the difficulty of gaining an overall perspective of structural
relations, and of witnessing the bases and nature of social
interaction outside the lineage structure. All of this
emerges from a communication structure and kinship structure
differentiated into corporate groups which "discourage close
participation of members in the social relations of the larger
society" (Wolf 1957:7).

121 The structural arrangement of al-Qasr was such that,
in plain language, not a great deal was happening in the
sociological sense. I say this about al-Qasr in comparison
• [123] with, for instance, a full-blown village community. Conse-
quently, I observed from day to day that which I could,

recorded that which people said in formal and informal interviews, and hoped that events would materialize to corroborate, in one way or another, that which I heard or suspected.

Since al-Qasr lacked the "space-time component of communal living together" (Firth 1961:27), I was not able to select a central vantage point from which I could view the everyday life of the Bedouins. More importantly, since the Bedouins interpret social structure in terms of a close relationship between residence and group membership, by the very fact that I chose to live in al-Qasr, and so had to live in the territory of some one lineage, I threatened my own objectivity and that of the Bedouins toward me.

In consideration of the time element, I made the decision to live with the most prestigious lineage in al-Qasr. I felt that this association would give me more freedom of movement in the field, and would provide me with access to more data in a shorter time. What I did not know at the time of my entry into the field was that the Bedouins prize neutrality and objectivity just as much as the anthropologist. As the Bedouins often said: "A man should only speak about the things he knows."

This is a study of the Bedouins of al-Qasr. They are not nomads nor are they even primarily pastoralists. Various degrees of nomadism and pastoralism exist in the Western Desert of Egypt among the different units of the Awlad 'Ali tribe. Therefore, while the Bedouins of al-Qasr may represent a case

586 judicious. Another issue which enters here is the desire on
829 the part of the individual to maintain his privacy--especially where an infringement of it could result in a change of his tax status. The Bedouins think that it is wise to keep the government uninformed about the exact size of their family.

586 When I first asked a question concerning divorce, I was
829 politely taken aside and told that I do not speak about
•123 divorce to a man, and especially when his sons are present.

586 Two cases of divorce took place while I was in the field. In the one, the wife claimed that her husband was impotent. She took this complaint to her father who then confronted the husband with it; the result was a divorce. Although the man denied that he was sterile, this was his second childless marriage and he felt it wise not to contest the case. It becomes very important to know, in the case of Bedouin divorce, which partner cannot meet the requirements of the marriage. If it is the woman, she will return to her father's house and the father must then return the price of mahr (brideprice). If it is the husband, when his wife returns to her father's house he must pay her (not her father, in this case) a sum, called mu'akhkhir al-sadaaq ("the balance of the marriage contract"), which is equal to that of the original mahr. Actually, there are three times when a mahr

[583 price may be paid in al-Qasr: the original mahr is paid at
768 the time of the marriage; the mu'akhkhir al-sadaaq is paid
595]

draw al-Qasr into the Egyptian political community. He has committed himself to work hand-in-hand with the Governor of Marsa Matruh in introducing changes connected with economics and education into al-Qasr. He does not conceal this fact. When I spoke with him about helping me with my study of changing attitudes in al-Qasr, he said: "I might have the time to do this, but before I decide you will have to bring me a letter from the Governor stating that he wishes me to cooperate with you." The identity and responsibility which Hajj 'Ali feels for his role of agent of change is indicated in his remark to me that he had heard "there were others in the desert who feel and think the way I myself do."

Hajj 'Ali is discretely aware of the status difference between himself, as a member of the "status group," and the others of al-Qasr. As Weber would say, he perceives the difference in "style of life." I was invited to Hajj 'Ali's house for 'iid al-fitr, the feast marking the end of Ramadan. I thought that this would be a good opportunity to observe the "leaders" of al-Qasr together. I was very much surprised to find present no members of the "status group" but only their exact opposites. On the occasion of this feast it is the custom that the rich treat the poor. As an additional surprise, we had a very simple meal of bread, dates, peanuts, and tea. Hajj 'Ali explained to me: "My neighbors do not have my economic advantages, and I do not think it is proper

156 to serve other than what they eat." Hajj 'Ali is not only
159 conscious of social stratification in his society, but he also
554 has a great deal of empathy with the less endowed, a pre-
571 requisite of a traditional Bedouin leader and an advantageous
574 one for a modern leader.
796
• 123

He is aware of most traditional institutions and how
156 they relate to conditions of modernity. Hajj 'Ali, whose own
159 marriages speak for his political acumen, sees only disadvantages
554 in the cousin-right marriage custom of the Bedouins. His
829 interest in getting on with the business of change, so to
582 speak, has led him to question a basic right contained in the
Bedouin principle of lineage structure and corporate membership.

> A thing which I do not like about our customs is the idea that a man has a right to his uncle's daughter. The man binds his cousin and in the end he might not marry her and will be the cause of her never marrying. He gives himself the authority to decide whom she may or may not marry. If he knows she desires to marry a certain man, he says: "She can marry anyone but not that one."

[562] Here he challenges the traditional right of the individual male in Bedouin society, favoring the rights of the female.
[177] The emancipation of the female, especially in rights and
[178] duties concerned with the marriage contract, is an element
[562] of the modernization process in Egyptian society and the Middle East in general.

* 613 The bait, as a political group, is in part structurally
602 defined by the corporate principle which states that blood-kin
571
682

I managed, however, during my stay to be closely in touch with one of the major cases and with almost all the parties involved. This case was used as the basis for the "social drama" analyzed in chapter three of the present study.

In addition to the social drama, I have used the case study method to analyze aspects of the substantive law of the group especially with regard to concepts such as that of criminal responsibility and the nature of the contractual relations as exemplified by the marriage contract. Cases utilized in the study include ones that I observed myself as well as cases taken from texts and some which were told to me by informants.

Most of the data was collected through the time-honored technique of participant observation which was facilitated by the fact that the group spoke the native language of the researcher (or vice versa). Formal interviewing was conducted on a very limited scale, thirty-five extensive questionnaires in all. These questionnaires were originally designed and administered to supplement the life history material and to assess the attitudes of the particular people involved with regard to particular issues. Some of the results of these questionnaires are used in the chapter. Due to the non-representation of the sample interviewed, these results are used merely as illustration and not as representing any kind of statistical frequency.

ENTRY TO THE FIELD

It is common among anthropologists to talk with nostalgia about their field experience and about the group they studied. This usually gives the impression that field work is always an enjoyable experience. Although my field work seems at the present time to have been a pleasant experience, especially when comparing it to the pressures of everyday living in a

"modern industrial society," it was not easy work. This, despite the fact that there was no language barrier, seeing that I spoke the same language of the group, or rather they spoke my native language; I had no problems of introduction because I had worked in the area and become acquainted with a number of the tribal members in 1958. When I went to the field, I then sought out these old friends who introduced me to other members of the group. 114 114 122 123

At the beginning, I made a deliberate effort to avoid associating with the government officials who worked in the area, even though they were quite willing to help and seemed to have an intimate knowledge of the people in the area. I had thought that any identification with the government would put me in a suspicious situation as far as the tribal groups were concerned, and thus prevent me from having good rapport with them. Later, however, I realized that the relationship between the government officials in the area and the tribal population was extremely good, and they always looked to the government as a source of aid and support to them. There was no conflict of interest between the state administration and the tribal groups. In fact, people accepted me more readily whenever they knew that I had worked for the Egyptian government. This later developed into a time-consuming and disappointing experience when many of the tribal members came to me asking for help getting employment in the government projects in the area, or to have their sons accepted in certain government schools, or to get some favored treatment from the government relief organizations. 114 123 177 [657]

The difficulty I encountered in my field work stemmed from the interplay of three major factors: the reliance on the case study method which necessitates the intimate knowledge of the events, facts, and parties involved in each case; being a female anthropologist in a society where women by definition are barred from public participation and particularly 114 123

from the process of dispute settlement; and the semi-nomadic nature of the population in the area. 114 123

The reliance on the case-study method and especially that of Turner's "social drama" which requires extensive and detailed knowledge of the sequential development of a number of cases over a long period of time proved to be a major task in a society where disputes are settled not in formal hearings, but by means of informal mediation and behind the scene negotiations. These activities covered a large area, and were shrouded in a great deal of secrecy. The assumption is that the parties involved in the dispute should be given the privacy and chance to arrive at an acceptable settlement without being conscious of or influenced by the opinion of non-interested parties. The public hearing, or the mi'ad, loves the announcement of the agreement arrived at in private. As will be seen later, very little factual information about the dispute is discussed in the mi'ad. No record is kept of either the discussion in the mi'ad or the preceding negotiations. The process of dispute settlement is, then, highly decentralized. To be able to follow one particular dispute involves the constant reliance on informants not only to acquaint the anthropologist with the places of negotiations, but also to fill the gaps in the information about the process of negotiation itself. 114 123 124 627 578

As a woman anthropologist, I found myself at a disadvantage in a society where women were excluded from public participation. It is true that from the very beginning of the field work I was never cast into the role of the native woman, yet, my position as a woman posed a certain number of problems. When I first arrived in the area, I made a deliberate effort not to identify with the native women. When it was suggested to me that the relatively short skirts I wore were not practical for riding donkeys 114 123 562

or walking in the strong winds characteristic of the area, and that the floor-length native dress would be more appropriate, I refused the advice for fear of being identified in the minds of the people with the natives, and thus being treated in the same way. The possibility of being identified with native women was not very strong, because from the very beginning I did not act like one. I did things and talked about things that native women had never done or talked about. I drove a car, read, and wrote, and talked about national and local politics. More important than that though, to the tribal population, was that I was a member of the bar association of Egypt, and that I had practiced law for a year in Cairo. Every time I was introduced, the fact that I was an attorney was made evident. This gave legitimacy to my interest in studying the tribal legal system, and in many ways they were flattered than an attorney, especially a woman city attorney, would be interested in their law. Yet, in native clothes or not, in the native female role or not, I was still a woman, and as such I was not part of any serious activity, especially those of dispute settlement. My mere presence in any part of the dispute settlement made the gathering seem somehow less serious. At the beginning of the field work a deliberate effort was made to keep me from knowing anything about the whereabouts of the negotiations or what was going on. I had to bribe men, women and children to tell me where the negotiations were taking place and who they involved, and then appear on the scene uninvited. This condition lasted for about two months. At that time the news of my presence in the area spread around, and I had attended many of the negotiations that men became less conscious of my presence. In fact, some even asked me to attend the meetings where some parts of the negotiations were conducted and give them my opinion as to the fairness of the settlement.

114 123 562

114 123 562 627

[124]

Yet, even when the problem of role definition was solved, it was still difficult to follow closely all aspects and phases of any particular dispute. This was mainly the result of the semi-nomadic nature of the population. In settled communities, the anthropologist usually finds himself in the midst of the social life of the community. He might not be a part of it, but at least a major portion of it is happening around him. In the case of nomadic or semi-nomadic populations, the situation is different. There were no large tribal concentrations in the area. The largest residential unit was the camp, and it consisted of no more than thirteen tents which changed in composition quite rapidly. In one camp, out of the thirteen tents which were there when I joined, only six remained unchanged by the time I left three months later. Originally I had planned to stay in the small village of El-Hammam, which was believed to be in the tribal route of the major tribal segment in the area. It took me only a few weeks to realize that the tribal segments did not follow any definite migratory route, and for more than four weeks I saw nothing of the life of the group more than the few individuals who came occasionally to the small settlement to buy tea or sugar, or to catch the train to Alexandria. It was then that I decided to leave the settlement and live with the camp. My stay in the camp was very insightful as far as information about the daily activities of the camp members and the relationship between the camp and other tribal segments in the area. But the camp was a very small group and fairly isolated. Besides, there was no way of knowing how typical that camp was to the other camps in the area. I finally decided that the best strategy was to live with a number of camps in the surrounding area for relatively short periods of time, making my base of operation a relatively settled camp in close proximity to a number of other camps.

627 agreement is reached. In fact, later one of the people attending said
628 that my presence made everything run smoothly in that particular Mi'ad
[123] because they felt that they should show me how peaceful Awlad Ali were. This was mainly supported by my own observation of other Mi'ads, some of which are described later, where parties were less understanding of one another and where no forfeiting of any part of the compensation occurs. This is particularly true when the Mi'ad is held to acknowledge the failure of the negotiators to reach an acceptable agreement among the parties.
[681] This is also true when one of the parties to a dispute denies the charge and insists on not paying any kind of compensation. In such cases the Mi'ad is held to decide upon a different course of action, usually the administration of the oath, as will be discussed later in the chapter.
[182] Despite its typical nature, the Mi'ad described above exemplifies the nature of the Mi'ad and its purpose as a process of making public what has been achieved in private negotiations. No evidence is presented and evaluated in the Mi'ad, no hearing of witnesses, no passing of judgment based on the evaluation of the facts of the case. Actually, the facts of the case are never presented and a person who is not acquainted with them before hand has no way of learning what the dispute is all about by merely listening to the discussions of the Mi'ad.

628 The key role in the process of mediation in dispute settlements is
613 done by the Aqila or the leader of the bait. When a dispute occurs between members of different baits, each party goes to the Aqila of his bait who takes immediate steps tomeet with the Aqila of the other party and discuss the matter with him in an attempt to reach a settlement. He acts as a representative of members of his bait and defends their interests in

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica



stretching across to the village of Ajadabiya in the east, topples in undulations away into the flat expanses of the desert to the south. At all these points of segmentation, the territories occupied by the various sections are large and roughly defined, and the population aggregates supported on these territories run from over a thousand at one end to tens of thousands at the upper limits. The tertiary sections are numerically much smaller, some of them numbering as few as a hundred souls in all, and the territories to which they are attached are correspondingly smaller. The relationship between the numbers in this order of section, and the precise amount of water available in the local wells is an intimate one. If the population of one of these groups increases, or if the number of animals rises, or if the springs show a decline in the volume of water they give forth, or if the winter rainfall has allowed the storage in wells of only a small quantity of water, a rearrangement of the group must be effected. A significant alteration of any one of these components must mean that the local group must split to enable a new adjustment to be made in the relationship of man and animals to water.

Whatever changes occur within groups of any size, since the genealogy embraces the entire population, these must appear on the genealogy in some way or other. Now a genealogy is as rigid a framework, as fixed and final a pattern of grouping, as can be imagined. The impression that they are thus rigid and fixed, except for the addition of successive generations, is strengthened by the way in which the Bedouin use them. From their young boys to their old men, the Bedouin are expert genealogists, and the names of ancestors, for one reason or another, are never far from their lips. Names are kept alive by constant use, since all references to inter-group relationships must be in terms of these names. More than this, the Bedouin were proud to the point of boastfulness of their genealogical knowledge, and, wherever I travelled, the first request I had to comply with was to take down a large portion of a tribal genealogy. In recording their endless genealogies, one feature about them came to assume increasing interest; while there was remarkable unanimity with regard to most of the names given, there was one point of marked ambiguity—at the tertiary level of segmentation. I recorded genealogies in four tribes on an extensive scale, and in each tribe

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica



ambiguity surrounding the actual names and their correct position occurred at about the fifth ascending generation. Whenever this point was reached in the recordings, arguments would flare up over the names to be included or excluded and over the relation of these names to those above and below, with the result that for several people of the same segment there would be several versions of a genealogy which differed only at this one point. An example of this sort is given below from the genealogy of the Nasr section, which shows seven different versions of the arrangement of ancestors round about the fifth ascending generation from the living.

The confusion at and around the fifth ascending generation appeared with such regularity in the genealogies that I feel justified in referring to it as 'the area of ambiguity'. It seems likely, moreover, that in any society where the lineage structure is closely tied to the territorial disposition of groups, since the genealogy is so rigid, there needs to be in it somewhere an area of ambiguity if it is to be related to reality. Without this ambiguity, the form of the genealogy is too rigid to comprehend changes which occur. This point in the genealogy came to assume critical significance as the point where adjustments in it are made. Other kinds of evidence point to the same conclusion.

[601]

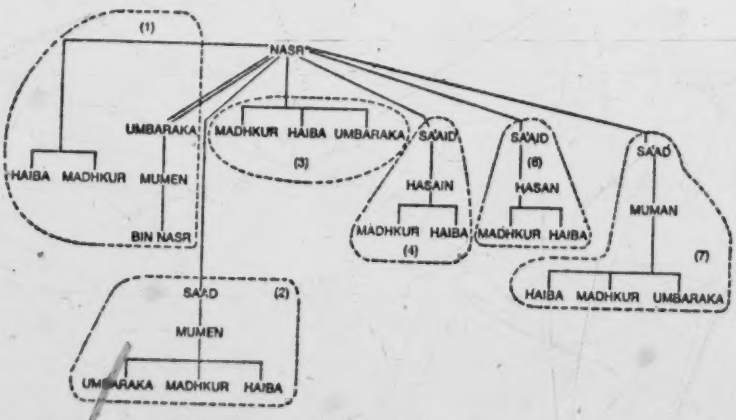


FIG. 18-3 GENEALOGY 3. *There is another section, al-Dawwas, which belongs to this group, but to include this as well would greatly complicate the issue without giving any additional information.

5: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1967. MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica



682 a rule by the return of the offender to his camp after the lapse of a number of years. A man who had already killed six people killed a seventh, his first paternal cousin. He and his brothers fled the tribe; he died in exile and it was not until some thirty years later that his brother and nephew returned. Another man, who had killed his [123] first paternal cousin, used my entry into a camp as the occasion for his re-entry, pitching his tent rope on rope with mine, and mine in turn was rope on rope with the tent of the camp's shaikh.[1]

621 682 613 [55] An effort is always made to hush up the matter when a homicide occurs within a tertiary section. It is for this reason that the name of the victim is not perpetuated. Normally it is an obligation to perpetuate the names of the deceased, especially when they have been killed in homicide, but in the circumstances now being discussed the name is suppressed. As one man expressed the general sentiments, stretching out his toga in front of him: 'Look at the hole in my toga; it would be better without it, but what can I do? Make it bigger? It is better to cover it up.' Any penal action taken against the offender could only enlarge the wound he had already opened. The notion of corporate identity is so strong that it eliminates the use of penal action against one of its members for the greatest offence of all. While overtly every effort is made to expunge the memory of a homicide of the sort described above, the Bedouin are most articulate in their views about the offender. He is referred to as one who 'defecates in the tent' thus likening him to an animal, for no human being would do this. Other expletives used in reference to him are: one who 'destroys the lineage', who 'corrupts the family'; he is one who 'brings confusion', who 'provokes God' and causes 'the evil of leprosy to eat into relationships'. Their feelings about the offender, who 'commits robbery internally', are summed up in the word *fitna*. This, in its Cyrenaican use, corresponds closely to the notion of sin as it is used in the Old Testament; in the sense, that is to say, of an act which causes an impasse in relationships, which creates chaos among a small group of related people, and produces internal calamity. And this is indeed the situation brought about by such homicide among the Bedouin. Flowing blood, they are wont to say, can only be staunched by blood (i.e. a vengeance killing), but if a man kills within a close agnatic range the corporate body continues to bleed. Nothing can be done. The group is left helpless, and this is sin.

The first step in this exposition, therefore, is to attach to homicide within a tertiary section the notion of its being *fitna*, carrying with it voluntary and temporary expulsion.

682 628 621 613 A homicide which involves two collateral tertiary sections is a different matter altogether, for now the parties constitute two discrete political groups. Political machinery can be set in motion to deal with the breach in relationships, and consequently a homicide of this sort does not pose the dilemma which is created when it occurs within a politically undivided group. Not only do agnates of two collateral tertiary sections behave towards each other as two groups of people, but the nature of their relationships is fundamentally different from those obtaining between mem-

682 a first cousin in cold blood because of a dispute between them over the ownership of a new-born kid. Although this was the only reason given by the Bedouin other considerations were involved—the victim was said to have been a fine person, and his killer a constant trouble maker, and so on.

[1] See for comparison Robertson Smith, 1903. The tent is an area of sanctuary, and this extends to include the ropes also.

6: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1965 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica



Second, the fiction that nothing has happened, which characterises the father's behavior, does not cease with the termination of the celebrations. Each morning, soon after daybreak and before the camp is astir, the groom must leave his bride and repair to his father's tent to lie at his father's side "as he always had done in the past, as if he had not left him." This conventional ruse is followed, not just for the seven days of wedding festivities, but is continued after the groom has moved back into the camp proper, and pitched his tent alongside his father's, with the ropes of the two tents crossing.

In matters other than sleeping arrangements, this fiction that "nothing has happened" is maintained. Marriage does not mean the immediate creation of a wholly separate domestic unit. Save for the appearance of an additional tent, the ordinary run of daytime activities is scarcely altered. To mention perhaps the most important feature of the relationships between father and son, the groom continues to eat with his father. As yet, the son does not use his own bowl,[1] and may not, indeed, do so for several years. The important symbolism of "eating together" or "eating out of the one bowl," the act of commensality creating a bond of fellowship about which Robertson Smith[2] wrote so eloquently can only be referred to here in one of its many aspects. Bedouin themselves stress that eating together is a strong bond, and the communal meal is always used for this purpose after the settlement of a dispute, or at the conclusion of a blood-money agreement, and so on. It is significant also in the sense that those who partake of a meal accept the authority of the host; he becomes their protector, and a blow against one of them is struck at him also. Even if the guest is an enemy,[3] as long as he has eaten from another's bowl his life is safe.

The slaughter of an animal for another person creates a bond which has its roots in the intimate connection between man and his animals. In a very vivid way, the Bedouin view their animals as part of themselves, as part of their *Risiq*, their general wealth, in which their sons are included. It is this mystical association between a man and his animals which distinguishes a meal consisting of the meat of an animal slaughtered from ones' own flock or herd from a meal consisting of meat bought from a butcher's shop — often given by the plateau peoples of Northern Cyrenaica to their guests, but which the camel-herding Bedouin of the south regard as despicable hospitality. A slaughtered animal is the food, *par excellence*, which establishes this bond

[1] When Bedouin take their meals, they eat from large wooden bowls imported from south of the Sahara. It is a matter of custom that a man does not eat alone unless it is unavoidable, a custom of such strength, that, when, one day, only an elder, occupying a tent the ropes of which were crossed with mine, was left in camp, he brought his bowl into my tent "so that I will be eating with a man."

[2] William Robertson Smith. *The Religion of the Semites*. 3rd ed. London: Macmillan, 1927.

[3] A stranger entering a camp is under no obligation to give his identity. Few do so until they have partaken of a meal. In the past, the Bedouin claim, the period of anonymity could last for 40 days, but nowadays, they say they limit it to two only. I have known strangers enter a camp, receive entertainment, and leave without offering any specific identity.

6: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1965 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica



band is required to take gifts to his mother-in-law in recognition of the fact that she nourished his wife as an infant (the literal meaning of the word used for this gift is "milk"). A return visit is made and gifts are given to the daughter. When the first child is born an animal is presented by the affines, and if the child is a male, the gift may be several sheep, or even a few camels if the father-in-law is very wealthy. Formal exchange of gifts continue, but, in addition, informal transfers are made. Moreover, if relations between a man and his father-in-law develop favourably, it is not uncommon for a young husband, during the early years of marriage, to move away from his father and pitch his tent alongside that of his father-in-law. Marriage gives a son affinal relations of his own. Affinity can alleviate the dead weight of paternal authority.

It is suggested that the crisis the marriage of a son assumes for a father is the shift it entails in the distribution of authority. This is borne out by other details in the marriage ceremony referred to earlier. Ordinarily, young men dare not sing within earshot of their senior agnates. Far from allowing obscenities, agnates of the ascending generation would not allow even a mention of women to be made by young men, in their presence. In a group consisting of young men and an agnate, I chanced to use the noun for woman and immediately my tent was cleared of all but the senior agnate. At a wedding the young men revel in their lewd songs and shout their obscenities for all to hear. The senior agnates stand aside and make a show of ignoring the proceedings. And well they may, for each marriage is a challenge to the exclusive authority they have enjoyed; each nuptial tent is an invasion of the domain of which they have been undisputed masters. Marriage is the only occasion when the men of one generation can clap and sing their defiance of an older one, and give warning of the changes which must be accommodated however great the pretence that nothing has happened.

Marriage ceremonies dramatise the clash between adjacent generations over the distribution of certain forms of authority. If this authority is as overwhelming as has been suggested, and if it is so deeply resented, how is it that life is endurable for juniors? Relationships between junior and senior agnates are so restrictive that they almost amount to what Professor Fortes has suggested I view as a form of avoidance relationships. Juniors must always defer, they must obey commands promptly, they serve their seniors, they must accept a lead when it is given and the restrictions on conversations exclude all reference to women, marriage or sex. These are not simply a set of general guides for behaviour, they are rigidly applied rules, deviation from which is countered with rebuke or greater severity. It would appear from this

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many African societies is that wealth is transferred. Obviously, in societies where the rules of exogamy compel a dispersion of links outside a man's own clan, what is involved in this transfer of wealth cannot be sociologically similar to one in which marriage to the first cousin on either side is permitted.

8: Kennett G-5 (ca. 1921) 1925 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9



lowered very slowly and carefully by the crowd at the top. Here again it is difficult to ascertain exactly what happened, as the evidence was again contradictory. Apparently, when Ahmed reached the ledge at half-way, he fumbled about in the dim light for the foot holes; and just at this psychological moment the rope broke.

The ten men holding the rope at the top collapsed one on the top of another; but when they had recovered their presence of mind, they shouted down to Ahmed, to ask if he were all right. A faint voice from the bowels of the earth replied that he had fallen heavily on a stone and had had a nasty knock, but that he would be all right in a few minutes.

They then produced a spare rope for another man to go down and get Ahmed up; but they discovered that the only one they had to hand was too short by several feet. A man was sent post-haste on a pony to get another rope from the encampment a mile or so away, and when he returned after a quarter of an hour, volunteers were quickly forthcoming to go down and retrieve Ahmed. On reaching the bottom they found that the unfortunate man, either stunned by the fall or overcome by foul air, had collapsed flat on the bottom of the well, and had been drowned in six inches of water. They hauled his body up to the surface, and Ali, terrified that he might be held in some way responsible, counselled all present to bury the dead man then and there, and to say nothing about it. However, news quickly spreads; and the same day an informer came to the police post and reported the matter, and Ali was arrested and subsequently sentenced to three months' imprisonment with labour by the present writer, for failure to notify a death under unusual circumstances. (Incidentally this did not constitute an offence under Bedouin Law, but was a contravention of the Police Code and was punished as such. Hence the apparent interference in a purely Bedouin concern.)

While Ali was still serving his sentence, Ahmed's rela-